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SOURCE Mu-ch'ien Tang Ti Chen-ch'e Wei-pien (Present Communist Party Policies), Vol II, 1948.

BASIC CONCLUSIONS OF THE NORTHEAST BUREAU
ON THE LAND-EQUALIZATION MOVEMENT

The land-equalization movement in the basic regions of the Northeast, excluding Hopei, Chahar, Jehol, Liaoning, has been brought to a close. Its scope was very large and its fight fierce as never before. Feudalism received an attack from which it will never recover. Despite all this, however, the movement was marked by serious defects and errors. We must therefore draw careful conclusions, learn by the experience, and do better in the future.

A. Results

As a result of the movement, the basic problem of land reform has been solved, i. e., in economics and politics the feudal system has been destroyed. All landlords and rich peasants have lost their former way of producing through feudal and semifeudal exploitation. Not only has land ownership by the landlord class been abolished, but most of their other property has been confiscated. The peasants have taken over independent means of producing, chief of which are land, cattle, tools, houses, food, and clothing.

Incomplete returns from Sung-chiang, Lung-chiang, Ho-chiang, and Nun-chiang provinces show that more than 50 million mou with 408,000 domestic animals were distributed, while more than 19,500 ounces of gold, 47,300 pounds of silver, and 5,200,000 garments were brought out of hiding. In Ho-chiang, each person got 7 - 12 mou, while for every 40 - 70 mou a useful animal was thrown in. Most poor peasants got one animal per family, and their clothing and housing problems were solved. In lung-chiang most poor peasants got one or even two horses apiece. There is no more "black" land. The former rule and prestige of landlords and rich peasants is gone forever, along with their feudal exploitation. In most places the poor and medium peasants have really seized power.

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In this movement, the rural masses, especially the poor peasants, did their full share. For instance, in Ho-chiang 60 - 80 percent of possible participants took part, with an over-all average in the four provinces of 60 percent. In Heilungkiang, 60 - 85 percent of poor peasants who could take part in the fight did so, while a majority of 95 percent was attained. It was much the same in other provinces. The entire class of poor peasants has become most alert and active and is the support of all Party work in the villages. Enrollment, war measures, and grain collecting are improved everywhere; joining the army is considered glorious, and there is a new eagerness to share in the war effort.

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Furthermore, the method of personal contact has been used. Village or district meetings have been held to arouse enthusiasm. New power has been generated and new leaders discovered. Democratic rights of the masses have been exhibited. Faulty cadres have been criticized or investigated, and educated, resulting in much improvement. Party and villagers have been drawn closer together.

In these basic regions the feudal system has been wiped out, poor and medium peasants are now the village elite, and genuine democracy is the governing power. This is an unprecedented achievement in history, a chief source of victory in our war of defense. We must not, because of certain defects, minimize its accomplishments. Yet these mistakes must be evaluated. The good results obtained are due to our wise leadership, military successes, and hard work on the part of all concerned.

B. Leftist Deviations

In the midst of these successes, some leftist deviations appeared.

1. It is a cardinal principle in land reform to take poor peasants as backbone cadres and firmly attach them to the medium peasants, allowing no damage to the latter. But this principle has often been violated in the movement. In Lung-tung more than 15 percent of all medium peasants were disturbed; in K'e-shan, more than half of 90 such homes. Some comrades do not link poor peasant leaders with medium peasants, but separate them, even saying the former should have a fling at dictatorship before joining the latter. Others count the medium peasants as a "gilded border," not caring whether they join the struggle or not.

Still others want to exceed the policy scope to gratify the poor peasants' wishes, claiming there is no harm in slicing off a little from the medium peasants to please the poor fellows.

Still others are for strict equality, being willing to reduce the medium peasants' portion in the interest of justice.

In some places the medium peasants are closely associated with rich peasants in various ways and have somewhat exploited the poor. Some held petty office under the Manchukuo regime and are guilty of dishonesty. Thus it is not considered important to link with them, for some are even classed as satellites of landlords and rich peasants. Where there is no clear line between them and the rich, they are lumped together in the phrase, "whoever exploits is a rich peasant"; thus all better-off medium peasants are put in the same category as the kulaks. In all Lung-tung Hsien there was not a single better-off medium peasant. Consequently, they follow neither the recent dictum of the Central Committee that any peasants who do not receive more than 25 percent of their total income through exploitation are to be counted medium peasants or better-off medium peasants, nor the dictum of 1933 using 15 percent as the criterion. In various ways the medium peasants have been cheated and have also failed to receive due political recognition. In some places medium peasants have not been in on conferences to demarcate

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classes. What is the result? Where they have been, they feel aggrieved; in extreme cases, frightened. They know that medium peasants are a large (20 - 25 percent) and important segment of the population. They are lasting allies; and a strong economic base. Unless they are closely tied into the movement, there is no guarantee that as much as 90 percent of the population will form a united front against feudalism; the poor will become isolated, the fruits of land reform will be hard to preserve, and a mass movement for production in the villages will be hard to arouse.

We must make it clear that the slogan of satisfying the desires of the masses has two practical economic meanings: (1) confiscate the feudal wealth of the landlord class and requisition the surplus wealth of the rich peasants for equitable distribution to become the private property of the peasant masses; and (2) on this foundation strive for production to become rich. If these two points are not observed, and nonfeudal, hard-working medium peasants are imposed on, with the intent of making poor peasants rich all at once, this very harmful fantasy will result in a slight temporary gain for the poor peasants, but also a lasting injury. In name, it is satisfying the poor peasants' desires; in fact, it is just the opposite.

2. The land law plainly says: "Protect the property of trade and industry, and avoid damage to legitimate business." In August 1947 the Northeast Bureau issued a directive to this effect; this was repeated by the Secretaries' Conference in November. Nevertheless, in the land-reform movement there were many cases of such injury.

For one thing, under the impetus of popular slogans peasants were permitted to enter cities, seize landlords, plunder their property and shops.

Again, in towns just liberated by our army, before order was strictly maintained there were similar infractions of our policy. Our people did not fully protect business and industry.

Third, in some towns the workers, seeing the wild enthusiasm in rural districts and all Party work booming, while the cities were cold and slow, became excited, lost sight of the Party's policy on trade and industry (specifically the Party's urban features), and brought the rural masses' fighting methods bodily into the cities to use. So it was that many enterprises of the landlords, and others that had been linked with puppets and the enemy, were confiscated; in some places even medium and small businesses were affected because the workers did not sense the importance of urban enterprises. Experience has made it clear that protection of city enterprises is helpful to the economy as a whole, to the support of the war, to urban and rural people alike. If enterprises are destroyed, peasants likewise suffer. This we must learn.

3. Communists oppose wanton beating and killing, yet it has been fairly common in this movement, resulting often in persons being beaten to death. Revenge is natural for peasants who have suffered millenniums of oppression, but along with the sense of justice there is often a strain of pure vindictiveness. Another reason for the beatings is an insatiable desire for loot, even a feeling that looting is more urgent than land division. When peasants are after landlords' valuables, they cannot think of a better plan than violence. Our duty as Communists is to bring popular feelings and Party policy together, to help the masses think of a plan, and to explain to them clearly that the aim of land reform is to destroy the feudal exploitation and control exercised by the landlord class, not to kill the landlords. Under democratic

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government, the demands of the rural masses can and should be met through legal ways of struggle, with reason and intelligence, without using crude and backward practices. Even the most serious matters are dealt with by people's courts in legal form. Yet some comrades have thus guided the peasants; rather they have looked on beating as a smart procedure for whipping up the masses and settling matters; they even do it themselves. This sort of thing is all wrong; for it will alienate sympathizers and even cause unrest among the masses. Not only will problems not be solved that way, but also matters will get worse.

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4. A distinction must be made between the treatment of landlords and kulaks. The land law expresses it very clearly: "Abrogate land ownership by the landlord class; confiscate the landlords' cattle, tools, buildings, and other property; but in the case of kulaks, after dividing the land equally, merely requisition the surplus of such aforesaid property."

However, in this movement landlords and kulaks alike have often been arrested, deprived of possessions, and in many places "sweep-out" methods have been used. Still less is any distinction made as to whether landlords are big, medium, or small, kulaks oppressive or non-oppressive, former kulaks, farming kulaks, etc. Many comrades have in this movement overlooked the need to distinguish between landlords and kulaks, and have forgotten that to attack landlords and kulaks in the same way would arouse fear and instability among the medium peasants.

These are some of the leftist deviations that have appeared in the movement. But it should be said, first, that some of these are widely prevalent, such as beating, or imposing on medium peasants, while others are serious in only a very few places and, second, that conditions vary -- in some spots all have occurred in different degrees, and in others not at all, or very little.

Why say these deviations are serious errors of principle? Because they directly violate the principles of Marxism-Leninism and our Party policy. If we injure the medium farmers, causing antagonism, if we attack landlords and kulaks in the same way and fiercely attack all landlords without distinction, beating and killing recklessly, causing those who bowed to land reform now to resist it and further, if we injure urban trade and industry leading those engaged in it to oppose us, then indeed we will cause the most progressive classes -- laborers and poor peasants -- to be extremely isolated, finally bringing much anxiety to those very classes. To make enemies and isolate oneself is very stupid and dangerous. We should heed Chairman Mao's cautions, growing out of his experiences in 1931 - 1933, and pay attention to Jen Pi-shih's important booklet, "Problems in Land Reform." If we do not watch for and correct these deviations, the revolution will receive a setback. It is our responsibility to prevent this from happening.

C. Sources of Deviation

What is the source of these errors?

The directive of the November 1947 Party Secretaries' Conference call for alliance of poor peasants with medium peasants, under the former's leadership, to erase feudalism and satisfy poor peasants' needs; they also stipulate that small kulaks must not be skinned bare, for fear of harming medium peasants. All this is right, yet some defects exist:

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1. A detailed analysis of conditions in the Northeast and a full evaluation of work done among the masses are lacking. What are conditions really like? In a third to a half of the districts the movement is finished, feudalism is gone, peasants have the land, the power, and the army. Basic problems of land reform are solved; only minor adjustments remain to be made. In other places where land reform is not complete, big and medium landlords have been overthrown and can no longer resist, but the land has not been fully divided; small landlords and kulaks retain too much land, and what they keep is good land. The landlord class preserves some prestige, its stooges still mingle in peasant union activities, the masses are not fully aroused. Here, as conditions demand, let there be adjustments over a wider area, or even a redivision.

Again, analysis of the cadres' thinking shows it none too good. What unorthodox elements remain? A few backward fellows who did not take part in the reform squads really harbor rightist ideas of opposing reform, interfering with the mass movement, protecting the landlords. At the same time, leftist tendencies lurk in their thoughts ready to sprout forth. In some places, there emerges the essentially mistaken viewpoint that "medium peasants are not basically the masses." There is even propagated in the newspapers the leftist idea, "Free action as a policy." Though these mistakes have been corrected within the Party, there has been no public rebuke of them. Medium peasants and business have been imposed on, and there have been floggings. The pro-landlord ideas have been criticized, but not sufficiently marked off from those of the cadres leading the masses; nor have the leftist leanings been adequately castigated. The conference gave a general denunciation of rightist sympathies, but failed to prescribe specific remedies.

Again, the conference underestimated the value of the previous reform, saying it was not thorough. They refused to distinguish between districts, saying all must be worked over from the beginning. Thus, the conference let loose a Pandora's box of leftist tendencies which will be very hard to control.

2. They settled only one aspect, that of satisfying the poor peasants; they failed to settle the aspect of linking up with the medium peasants, not encroaching on them or on trade and industry. The link-up with the medium peasants is an important principle of which our comrades have been reminded. But the conference, in giving carte blanche for a thorough land reform and sweep-out of feudalism, did not sufficiently provide against an enlargement of the scope of the attack to include the medium peasants; they overlooked stressing the link with medium peasants to guarantee 90 percent of the population being in favor of land reform. Nor did the ideas of some comrades that trade and business of the privileged classes might be attacked receive sufficient criticism.

3. In demarcating classes there was carelessness and error. Without adequate study of conditions in the Northeast, demarcation followed the old lines. Though small kulaks were marked off, it was not done by the new criteria of the Central Committee; a small kulak who hires half or all of one person's time should be a medium peasant. In the Northeast there is a specially large number of tilling kulaks or active landlords who have not been sufficiently investigated. In the previous overturn the big landlords were attacked, like felling big trees, and the objective was clear enough; but distinctions that existed between landlords and kulaks were neglected. The demarcation was lacking in finesse; unless it is done with up-to-date and practical guidance, deviations and errors will occur.

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After the November Secretaries' Conference, rightist feelings and leftist ideas grew rapidly in the movement. They showed themselves in the following two features:

a. Stressing action rather than policy. A glance at propaganda material shows such slogans and phrases as "The movement is everything," "The movement solves everything," "Do not fear violence," "Unless there is much confusion, our hands are not free," etc. Party policy is taken not as a guide, but rather as an encirclement or a stumbling block. Comrades who talk that way fail to recognize that unless mass movements follow Party leadership they cannot succeed. Consider the sweep-out activities of the past month; they were indeed on a grand scale, but what were the results? For one thing, the poor peasants did not join the medium peasants, but stood alone; for another, in the "joint sweep-out," village and district lines were disregarded, targets were not chosen, all was confusion, and intervillage frictions arose. When we start a mass movement, we must hold to party policy and keep down confusion. Sweep-outs lose their way when Party policy is cast aside.

b. Stressing "what the poor peasants say is final," "the views of the poor peasants are policy," "the demands of the poor peasants can revise Party policy," advocating "delegated authority," etc. This sort of talk negates Party leadership and policy, for it leaves all decisions in the hands of the poor peasants. Is that right? Of course not. For instance, when the poor peasants attacked urban business, was their word final? Could their views revise Party policy? Plainly, no. On the contrary, in such circumstances, our duty is to show that such attacks are not to their advantage in the long run. We must persuade them to take the long view. Party policy is made on a broad base, and takes in the long view. Fragmentary ideas cannot overturn it. Between the Communist Party and the revolutionary masses there is a difference; the former ought to have more outlook and insight. To lead the masses we must keep in close touch with them. If merely dependent on the poor peasants' initiative, the revolution will come to grief. To let initiative negate Party leadership and reduce its function is very dangerous, a viewpoint contravening Marxism-Leninism.

After the November Secretaries' Conference, very little was done to correct irregularities. Even the leaders desisted, fearing that rectification would throw cold water and make the movement fail when half done.

To sum up, we see that the mistakes in this movement arise from sociological causes and reflect the thinking of small property owners in our Party -- their impatience, lack of reason, and tendency to take things into their own hands. The Party must resolutely press policy education and ideological education; still more should the top cadre leaders learn Mao Tse-tung's ways of thinking and action to gain insight into conditions and control of policy.

Experience in this movement tells us how leaders should still better control the movement to avoid errors. If the conference had been more patient, and more ready to make more detailed studies in applying the Central Committee's instructions more effectively, then there might have been fewer leftist feelings among the cadres afterwards. If the leaders had kept clear heads, maintaining leadership and uniting theory with action, using over-all hypothesis and analysis of problems, and correcting abuses promptly, things would have been better. Let the leaders be alert, prompt in dealing with variations, keeping a close hand on matters to forestall failure.

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D. Firm Correction Deviations

Holding fast to truth, rectifying error, -- this is the attitude we Communists are responsible for maintaining before the masses. In the last month or so, widespread action has been taken to correct leftist deviations. This is very good. In our Party, deviations are corrected within a month or so of their appearance. This proves our Northeast setup is healthy. But correcting wayward tendencies is a hard and complicated task, which needs firmness and care.

1. Cadres must be awakened to press policy education. Leaders must set the example in evaluation and self-criticism, not shifting responsibility. Faults and excellencies must be pointed out and treated appropriately. This aids understanding of policy.

2. We must rely on the poor peasants to communicate their awakened consciousness to the masses in correcting deviations. We must tell them that correction brings many benefits; it solidifies results and makes for long-term values. Cadres must feel that accomplishments are due to mass strength, while they themselves are responsible for defects. The present enthusiasm of the poor peasants is very valuable; when joined with that of medium peasants, it guarantees success. Do not spoil it by correcting them, but blame yourselves.

3. Enter in the drive to increase production. Production is the center of today's work. All Party work must gather around it. Do not correct deviations just for the sake of correcting, but clarify the purpose of more production to bind the majority together and not let the poor peasants stand alone.

4. Make ordered progress, with duly proportioned emphasis and speed. Do not be impatient, or oversimple; do not seek speed and try to right everything at once. Work steadily and carefully.

Furthermore, when correcting deviations, we must follow an important rule: when remedying one important deviation, take care that another does not arise from a different direction. When firmly dealing with a leftist error, watch for a rightist one. Such have already appeared. If a mistake has appeared in downgrading (such as rating a kulak as a medium peasant), it will appear all down the line, and the demarcators will lose their caution about landlords and kulaks, and even the point of the argument; thus, they will unwittingly "apologize" to them. All Party leaders must continually be on their guard to forestall or correct such a tendency.

In correcting deviations, the chief problem is decreasing the scope of the attacks. As to this several observations may be made:

The chief thing is to follow resolutely the Central Committee's ruling that a kulak is one who gets more than 25 percent of his income by exploitation and a tilling kulak should be ranked as a better-off medium peasant. The scope of attacks should not as a rule exceed 8 percent of the families, or 10 percent of the individuals in the population. The Northeast (Manchuria) is slightly different from North China. Families of landlords and kulaks are larger, so 10 percent of the individuals is not an accurate figure, but the highest should not exceed 13 percent of the population.

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In the treatment of medium peasants (including those who have been wrongfully off), those who have been wrongly ranked by the 25 percent rule must be recompensed, with guarantees that their land, animals, and tools must not at least be lower than that of the poor peasants. Mistakes in class demarcation must receive humble apology. In the organization, medium peasants must be accepted into the peasant unions or political authority (with a ratio to poor peasants of one in four or one in three). As to scope of attack, particular attention must be directed to the new criterion clearly marking the boundary between medium peasant and rich peasant. Leaders must put cadres into one or two villages to gain experience.

As to treatment of kulaks and small landlords, guarantee them the conditions for livelihood, primarily land and grain, and consider allotting them some animals.

As to treatment of big and medium landlords and rapacious kulaks, on the principle of equal division, guarantee them the necessary conditions for living: land, grain, building, etc. Property that has not been looted may be brought out to invest in production. Guarantee them no more division, the right of private ownership from now on, and the fruits of their own labor. On one hand, supervise their producing; on the other, guard against sabotage and deal accordingly.

Sources for refunding may be found in undivided movable property; rural loans will also help, but none should be given big and medium landlords and rapacious kulaks.

Compensation must be found for business that has been damaged. What was transformed into cooperatives must be entirely returned, and illegal investment canceled. Where compensation is impossible and the business can go on, it should be tax free for a year or two; where it cannot, let the bank lend. Reform the tax system; forbid extra imposts and all barriers to intersectoral trade.

B. Future Duties

I. Increase Production, Support the War

Feudalism has fallen; land has been divided. From now on our long-term duty is to produce and to support the war. All Party work must be centered around production. In the villages we must use poor peasants as the core for strong linking with the medium peasants, and, arousing the entire population for a big production drive, we must increase acreage and output. In newly liberated and war areas, increase planting with crops going to the planter as an incentive. Instructions have been given for the spring planting drive; let each local committee see them through. First, ascertain what anxieties the masses have about this. Some poor peasants fear that when the poor become rich, their goods will be divided. Then we must explain that the Communist Party is leading a turnover for the poor, i.e., it is abolishing feudal oppression and exploitation, causing the land to pass from feudal exploiters into the hands of the farming people, so they can work hard and grow rich, have homes and property, to develop the productive power of the whole of society.

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Chairman Mao says: "All revolutionary action is not for abolishing private property, but wholly for preservation of private property." Since the private property of Chinese agriculturalists is protected by the People's Government, it is needless to say that still less will the private property of peasants who have labored and built up their homes be divided. From now on, landlords and kulaks who, after land reform have produced goods by their own labor will have these goods protected in like manner.

Next, find out what difficulties the masses have in production, such as food, seed, tools, cattle, etc., and help with prompt solutions. Also find out what problems must be solved in connection with kulaks and landlords producing. After they begin working, there is no small source of output, which must not be neglected or handled loosely.

With reference to the development of agricultural production following land reform, Chairman Mao's instructions should be heeded: "The development of rural economy should be gradual, step by step from the individual pattern to the collectivist pattern."

The great tidal wave of land reform has already swept completely away the old landlord and rich peasant economy. In its place, first of all, has come about the small-farmer economy of the peasants who have had a turn for the better. This is now the largest and most important component of the whole agricultural economy of the Northeast Liberated Area; it is our main reliance on the agricultural battlefield.

In the task of step-by-step conversion from the small-farmer economy to the collectivist plan, the best way is to organize cooperation and mutual help in connection with the privately owned property of the farmers. Such cooperation is the most effective key available at present to raise their productive power.

The leaders of all levels of Party organization should make every effort to help the farmers establish and improve their cooperative organization. Hereafter, this will be the most telling indication of a Party worker's success or failure.

Due to climatic conditions, cultivation methods, accumulated experience of the former rich farmers, and other factors, the promotion of cooperation and mutual help among farmers of the Northeast Liberated Area enjoys certain advantages over that in the region inside the Great Wall. Nevertheless, we must hold firmly to the fundamental principle of building up cooperation and mutual help on the foundation of voluntary mutual advantage and the private rights of the farmers. Collectivization cannot be forced too hurriedly; it can only be promoted by starting with the lowest form of cooperative assistance and proceeding to raise the level of agricultural efficiency and of the farmers' appreciation of the philosophy of collectivism. To introduce all phases and degrees of a collectivized farm at present would be premature and harmful.

Following the land reform, the creation of new rich farmers is inevitable, but under the political authority of the New Democracy it is nothing to be feared. On the contrary, new rich farmers are a help to the development of rural productive power, and can serve a useful purpose with respect to support for the present war. Thus, new rich farmers should be protected in accord with the principle of "the mutual advantage of labor and capital."

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But, concerning the development of rural economy under the New Democracy, it must not be forgotten that the important thing is to proceed through the stage of cooperation and mutual help in the broadly dispersed small-farmer economy and to lead the small farmers step by step, according to the level of agricultural efficiency and the degree of peasant discernment, in the direction of collectivism.

Since the Northeast Liberated Area has extensive fertile and level lands with conditions definitely favorable for industries, we shall systematically establish large, progressive, publicly operated farms to develop a planned agricultural economy and to aid the development of cooperation among the peasants.

Simultaneously we shall offer inducements to private capital in the cities to invest in agriculture, thus developing the agricultural economy through private capital since this is advantageous and not harmful to the national policy or the people's livelihood. These two features will become an organized part of the planned agricultural economy of the Northeast Liberated Area. The future of publicly operated farms is unlimited, but there is also a future for the growth of privately operated farms.

2. Aggressively Establish a Strong Party Which Embraces the Masses

If we do not form a nucleus of Party leaders now, we cannot maintain the results of the land-reform victory; it will be impossible now and hereafter to extend the work of education and organization for production. In short, we cannot continue to advance. The essentials for establishing the Party are all ready. After 2 years' work with the masses during the land-equalization movement, there are in the villages a flood of aggressive, poor, hired farm laborers and Party workers who have been tested by struggle; a large portion of the masses have an elementary understanding of the Party. In view of these circumstances, we can and ought to adopt an aggressive policy of Party expansion.

For the expansion of the Party, emphasis should be placed on doing better work in the base areas, i.e., in areas where the land is fertile and the population dense or in cities where there are big factories and large-scale enterprises. Party organization in these base areas should be entirely open and public. The advantages of publicity are numerous: contact with the masses can be closer, better acquaintance of the masses with the Party whereby the people may give closer supervision to Party members can be secured. The method of "application, open discussion, party approval" may be tried; that is, a man who, after an ample period of consideration, wants to join the party, may himself make application to the mass meeting of poor farm laborers who will freely discuss the application and investigate the circumstances. Finally the local Party committee will receive him in accordance with the procedure stipulated in the Party regulations. This plan may be tried out in one or two places to gain experience, and then extended to other places.

This expansion of Party membership should be associated with the production movement in ways such as soliciting new members while organizing ways and means for overcoming production difficulties. Attention should be given to the type of members taken in, placing emphasis on industrial laborers, hired farm laborers, poor farmers, and educated men of revolutionary temperament. Proceed cautiously with the reception of the ordinary educated men of the towns and cities and the middle-class farmers (except those who have been tested). Be sure to take in some women members, for hereafter women will take a much larger part in all kinds of activities. After membership expansion, instruction should be carried on with a strict hand. Educational material for Party propaganda

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should be prepared with as little delay as possible. Expansion of Party membership in quantity and quality at this time has good possibilities; we are confident that within one or 2 years in the Northeast we shall have several tens of thousands of excellent Party workers. This work is of the highest importance. In this way the work of the people of the Northeast will have an even better assurance of victory, and support for the whole country a better foundation.

3. Organization and Political Rights of the Rural Masses

During equalization periods in the past, the poor peasants' assemblies of each district and village, delegates' meetings and committees (which are the concrete forms of poor peasants' organization) were in fact the form of organization of the rural masses and of the provisional political authority.

At present this organization must be replaced by one in which medium peasants participate in rural assemblies, delegates' meetings and committees (the concrete forms of organization of peasant unions). This is the form of organization of the rural masses and of the provisional political authority.

In the rural assemblies there should still be cells of poor peasants, and poor peasants' assemblies linking these cells, but when not necessary these assemblies will not have fixed or regular meetings; the rural assemblies, etc., can take care of all Party work. Hereafter, provided conditions permit, the rural assemblies, etc., should embrace all antifeudal, democratic elements, thus becoming people's assemblies, though the basic element is still the peasants. This becomes the proper form of organization of rural political authority.

Before Party branches are set up, the poor peasants' group should maintain itself as the leadership core of the rural people's authority, but after such branches have been set up, the Party becomes the core. At that time, it becomes a question whether peasant unions and poor peasants' groups need to be kept up separately.

4. Varying Policies for the Future

Newly recovered areas: Follow instructions of the Central Committee for such places. Confiscate all land and property of big and medium landlords and oppressive kulaks, but give them their portion according to the equalization principle. Methods of attack should be differentiated for practical conditions or circumstances. Requisition surplus land, animals, tools, and grain of small landlords and old-style kulaks, but never loot them of their basic possessions; do not touch the homestead. Tilling kulaks must be treated always like medium peasants who are better off; if they have surplus animals, they may buy them in fair barter after receiving their land. Land and animals of medium peasants must basically not be touched; in the past "assent" and "free will" have been much abused. Surplus land and animals of medium peasants do not amount to much, and do not affect the general picture of equalization; if they are touched, the losses will outweigh the gains and the whole village will be aroused. It is better to preserve the former status quo. Trade and industry (including that of landlords and kulaks) must not be touched.

Border areas: Here the enemy comes and goes; there is a struggle for possession and the area is not stable. Confiscate and distribute the land and property of big landlords and oppressive kulaks; disturb nothing else. Firmly oppose grabbing, which violates our policy.

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If there are yet any areas in the basic regions where the work is not complete, stop all attacks, turn to production, and make efforts, and let the planter harvest (applicable also to the planter). Hereafter in settling problems of land reform, adopt the following treatment.

Mongol areas: Adopt the objective of careful, slow progress. In purely agricultural areas, as a rule, follow the policy for new areas; that is, confiscate the land and property of Mongol traitors, big and medium landlords and oppressive kulaks, requisition the surplus land and property of small landlords and kulaks but do not loot them of basic possessions or touch the homestead. In areas that are half farming, half stock-raising, disturb nothing except especially big landlords and oppressors. In purely pastoral areas, basically disturb nothing except especially big criminal stockmen with the government's approval for prosecution. For the last two types of areas, laws may be passed for gradual democratic reform, developing the economy and raising the people's living. In all Mongol areas, Mongol religion must be respected; all destruction of temples, Buddhist images, etc., is forbidden. In areas where Mongols and Hans (Chinese) are intermingled, racial affinities must be given attention.

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